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TOBIT'S BLINDNESS AND SARA'S HYSTERIA.

By PAUL HAUPT.

(Read April 23, 1921.)

In the apocryphal book of Tobit, which seems to have been written by a Persian Jew for the encouragement of his coreligionists in Palestine at the beginning of the Maccabean rebellion about B.C. 167, we read that Tobit's son, Tobias, cured his father's blindness with the gall of a fish he had caught in the Tigris, while the liver and the heart of that fish, burned on embers of incense, expelled the demon Asmodeus who had tormented Tobias's bride, Sara, for years. This demoniacal possession may have been hystero-epilepsy: hysterics and epileptics were supposed to be possessed by demons (cf. Mark 9, 17–26).

The "New Standard Dictionary" says that in Lesage's opera(!) "Le Diable Boiteux" Asmodeus is the name of the demon who conducts Don Cleofas in his nightly adventures. In this satirical novel, which appeared in 1707, Asmodeus is identified with the capricious god of sexual passion, Cupid, and his lameness is said to be due to the fact that he had an encounter in France with the demon of selfishness, Pillardoc. The fight was fought in the aërial regions, and Asmodeus was hurled to earth. *Cupido* is a personification of desire, passion, concupiscence which is symbolized in the Biblical story of the Fall of Man by the Serpent (PAPS 50, 505).¹

¹ AAJ = Haupt, "The Aryan Ancestry of Jesus" (Chicago, 1909) = The Open Court, vol. 23, pp. 193-209.—AJP = American Journal of Philology.—AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages.—ASKT = Haupt, "Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte."—BA = "Beiträge zur Assyriologie."—AV=Authorized Version.—BK = Brockhaus's "Konversations-Lexikon, Neue revidierte Jubiläums-Ausgabe."—BL = Haupt, "Biblische Liebeslieder" (1907).—BT = Lazarus Goldschmidt, "Der babylonische Talmud."—CD = Century Dictionary.—DB = Hastings, "Dictionary of the Bible."—EB = Cheyne-Black, "Encyclopædia Biblica."—EB¹¹ = "Encyclopædia Britannica," eleventh edition.—ET = Expository Times.—GJV = Schürer, "Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes."—JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental

The common opinion that Asmodeus is depicted in the Talmud as lustful and sensual is unfounded. Nor does the Book of Tobit state that Asmodeus was enamored of Sara.

Also in the twelfth canto (1. 6600) of Wieland's romantic epic "Oberon," which was published in 1780, Asmodi is identified with Cupid. The libretto of Weber's famous opera "Oberon" was adapted by the English dramatist and antiquary, James Robinson Planché, from Wieland's "Oberon." Wieland's poetic masterpiece is based on the old French chanson de geste of "Huon de Bordeaux," which we have in a beautiful illustrated adaptation in modern French by Gaston Paris (1898). The old French text was edited by Guessard and Grandmaison in 1860. The fairy dwarf Oberon (Old French "Alberon") is identical with Alberich in Wagner's "Nibelungen" and the "Erlkönig" of Herder, Goethe, and Schubert. Alberich means king of the elves, and Herder's "Erlkönig" is due to a misunderstanding of the Danish ellerkonge, which does not mean king of the alder-trees, but king of the elves. Dan. ellerkonge stands for elverkonge, with progressive assimilation of the v.

In Jewish legends the lameness of Asmodeus is explained dif-

ferently. Asmodeus is said to have been captured by Solomon's captain of the host, Benaiah ben-Jehoiadah. On the way to Solomon the demon brushed against a palm-tree and uprooted it; he knocked against a house and overturned it. When, at the request of a poor woman, he turned aside from her hut, he broke a bone. He wept when a bridal procession passed by, and laughed at a man who Society.—JBL = Journal of Biblical Literature.—JE = "Jewish Encyclopædia."-JHUC = Johns Hopkins University Circular.-JQR = Jewish Quarterly Review.—JSOR = Journal of the Society of Oriental Research.—MK = Meyer's "Konversations-Lexikon."—OLZ = "Orientalistische Literaturzeitung."—PAPS = Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society.—RB = Riehm-Bæthgen, "Handwörterbuch des biblischen Altertums."-RE3 = "Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche."-RV = Revised Version.-WZKM = "Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes."-ZDMG = "Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft."-Cant. = Haupt, "The Book of Canticles" (Chicago, 1902) = AJSL 18, 193-245; 19, 1-32.—Est. = Haupt, "The Book of Esther" (Chicago, 1908) = AJSL 24, 97-186.—Nah. = Haupt, "The Book of Nahum" (Baltimore, 1907) = JBL 26, 1-53.—Pur. = Haupt, "Purim" (Leipsic, 1906) = BA 6, part 2.

asked his shoemaker to make him a pair of shoes which would last for seven years, also at a magician who was exhibiting his skill. When Solomon questioned him about his strange conduct on the journey, he replied that he judged persons and things according to their real character, and not according to their appearance in the eyes of men. He cried when he saw the bridal procession, because he knew the bridegroom had not a month to live; and he laughed at the man who wanted shoes which would last for seven years, because he knew the man would not wear them for seven days. In this respect he corresponds to Asmodée in Lesage's "Le Diable Boiteux."

Asmodeus dwelt on a mountain. He went to heaven every day to take part in the discussions at the celestial house of study. Then he descended again to earth to be present, invisibly, at the debates in the earthly seats of learning. This may explain the malice we often notice in learned discussions. In the Christian pseudepigraph, "The Testament of Solomon" (translated by Conybeare in JQR 11, 1-45), Asmodeus answers Solomon's question concerning his name and functions as follows: I am called Asmodeus among mortals, and my business is to plot against the newly-wedded, so that they may not know one another. I sever them utterly by many calamities. In this respect Asmodeus corresponds to Oberon in Wieland's poem, but the calamities which befall Huon and his spouse are merely disciplinary trials, just as Job's suffering is but a test of his faith in God. Asmodeus tells Solomon: I waste away the beauty of virgins and estrange their hearts . . . I transport men into fits of madness and desire when they have wives of their own, so that they leave them, and go off by night and day to others that belong to other men, with the result that they commit sin and fall into murderous deeds (JE 2, 217-220).

The first mention of Asmodeus is found in the Book of Tobit—*i.e.*, about 167 B.C. Sennacherib in the Book of Tobit represents Antiochus Epiphanes of Syria (175–164 B.C.), who appears in the Book of Daniel, which originated about the same time, as Nebuchadnezzar. The Second Book of the Maccabees (9, 15) says that Antiochus Ephiphanes had judged the Jews not worthy so much as

to be buried, but to be cast out with their children to be devoured by the birds and wild beasts. In connection with the account of the murder in one day of sixty Assideans (i.e., orthodox Jews) at the hands of the Hellenizing high priest Alcimus (161 B.C.), I Mac. 7, 17 quotes some lines of Ps. 79: The flesh of Thy saints and their blood have they shed round about Jerusalem, and there was none to bury them.

This Maccabean poem, which consists of four triplets with 3 + 3beats, may be translated as follows:

PSALM 79.

- I ab Thy estate has been entered by heathen who defiled Thy holy Temple cd
- 2 And gave Thy servants' bodies as food to the birds of the air; e (f)
- 3 They shed their blood like water round about Jerusalem. O
- 4 We became a scoff to our neighbors, the g butt of those round about us.
- 5 How long, O JHVH, wilt Thou rage,h and Thy passion burn like fire?
- 6 Pour out Thy wrath i over realms that do not invoke Thy name.
- 8 Our father's sins charge not to us, may Thy mercy soon come to meet us! k
- 9 Aid us, O God, our Help, for the sake of the glory of Thy name! 1
- 10 Why should the heathen say:

where is that God of theirs?

In our sight manifest on the heathen revenge for Thy servants' blood shed by them; mn

- 12 Into their bosom sevenfold render o
 - the insults wherewith they insulted Thee.p
- 13 Then we,q the flock of Thy pasture, will thank Thee for ever and ay."

⁽b) O God (c) and laid Jerusalem in ruins (a) I Asaphic Psalm

laid waste his homestead. (d)They devoured Jacob, 7

to the beasts of the land. (e) The flesh of Thy saint's

³ and there is none to bury them (g) 4 derision and (f)

- (h) 5 for ever? (i) over the heathen who do not acknowledge Thee and
- (k) 8 for we are very wretched
- (1) 9 Save us and forgive us our sins for the sake of Thy name.
- (m) II Let the moan of the prisoners come before Thee.
- (n) With Thy great power preserve those doomed to death.
- (o) 12 to our neighbors (p) O Lord (q) Thy people and
- (r) 13 And to all generations rehearse Thy glory.

Into their bosom in v. 12 means into their lap; cf. Luke 6, 38; Is. 65, 7; 2 K 4, 39; Ruth 3, 15; see my paper "Abraham's Bosom" in AJP 42, 163; Lazarus was not carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom, but into Abraham's lap; Michel Angelo's famous marble group *Pietà* at St. Peter's in Rome shows the Virgin with the body of the dead Christ on her lap (see pl. ix, no. 13, at the end of MK⁶ 2).

The best English translation of the Book of Tobit is given in "The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English," with introductions and critical and explanatory notes to the several books, edited in conjunction with many scholars by R. H. Charles (Oxford, 1913). Tobit has been contributed by D. C. Simpson, of Manchester College, Oxford. He gives an elaborate critical apparatus, but hardly any explanatory notes. In his learned introduction he states (p. 183) that the book is certainly pre-Maccabean, and that it probably emanated from orthodox Jewish circles in Egypt. Although this view is endorsed by a number of distinguished Biblical scholars, I believe that the book was written by a Persian Jew for the encouragement of his coreligionists in Palestine at the beginning of the Maccabean rebellion, about B.C. 167, just as I pointed out six years ago (OLZ 18, 71; JSOR 2, 77) that Gen. 14 was written by a Babylonian Jew for the inspiration of the followers of the Davidic prince Zerubbabel who rebelled against the Persians at the beginning of the year 519 B.C. (cf. JBL 37, 210; contrast E. Naville, "The Text of the Old Testament," London, 1916, p. 30). We need not suppose that the story of Tobit was brought to Egypt by Persian soldiers of Cambyses (Simpson, p. 194, n. 3). If Tobit had been written in Egypt, the author would not have said that when Asmodeus smelled the liver and the heart of the fish, which Tobias had put on the embers of the incense, he fled into the upper parts of Egypt (Tob. 8, 3).

The Syrian persecution was regarded as a chastisement for the sins of the chosen people.2 Tobit says in 13, 9: O Jerusalem, thou holy city. He will chastise thee for the work of thy hands, and will again have mercy on the sons of the righteous; and in v. 12: Cursed shall be all they that shall speak a hard word; cursed shall be all they that demolish thee, and throw down thy walls, and all they that overthrow thy towers and set fire on thy habitations. This is directed against the Syrians: in 168 B.C. Antiochus Epiphanes's chief collector of tribute plundered Jerusalem, set it on fire, pulled down the houses and the walls on every side. Tobit (13, 14) says: Blessed shall be all the men that shall sorrow for thee for all thy chastisements, because they shall rejoice in thee and shall see all thy joy forever. Jerusalem shall be built again as His house unto all the ages. In Tobit's last words to his son (14, 4): I believe the word of God upon Nineveh, which Nahum spake, that all those things will be, and will befall Assyria and Nineveh, Assyria stands for Syria, and Nineveh for Antioch. The Book of Nahum is a liturgical compilation for the celebration of Judas Maccabæus's glorious victory over Nicanor on the 13th of Adar, 161 B.C. The first two poems are Maccabean, but the last two were written by an Israelitish poet who saw the fall of Nineveh in 606 B.C. (Nah. 1). Grotius (1644) had correctly conjectured that Jonah had been inserted in place of Nahum in Tob. 14, 4 under the influence of Jon. 3, 4 (Simpson 239, 4). The Sinaiticus reads Nahum instead of Jonah.

In the abstract of a paper, "The Site of Nineveh in the Book of Tobit," which Professor Torrey, of Yale, intended to present at the meeting of the American Oriental Society held at Cornell University in 1920, it was pointed out that in the longer (and older) version of Tobit, Tobias and the angel, as they come near to Nineveh on their return from Ecbatana, passed through another city lying just across the river; several converging lines of evidence indicate that the Nineveh of the story is Seleucia with its sister city Ctesiphon lying opposite; the actual site of Nineveh was not known at that time. As stated above, Assyria is used in Maccabean texts for Syria, and

² Cf. Tob. 13, 5. 9 and 2 Mac. 1, 27–29; 6, 12–16; also Tob. 13, 12 in Simpson's translation and 1 Mac. 1, 31; finally Tob. 1, 17–19; 2, 7; 12, 13 and 2 Mac. 9, 15; 1 Mac. 7, 17.

Nineveh for Antioch on the Orontes, which was founded as his chief seat of government by Seleucus Nicator after the battle of Ipsus in 301 B.C. Also Seleucia on the Tigris, opposite Ctesiphon on the left bank, c. 50 miles north of Babylon, and 15 miles south of Bagdad, was founded by Seleucus Nicator (cf. Streck, "Seleucia und Ktesiphon," Leipsic, 1917). Tobit can not have been written in the days of Sennacherib c. 700; it must have been composed by a Persian Jew c. 170 B.C. Also the Book of Esther was written by a Persian Jew c. 130 B.C. On the other hand, the so-called Third Book of the Maccabees is an Egyptian festal legend for the feast of Purim, while the Book of Judith is a Palestinian Purim legend (Pur. 7; Est. 2).

It has been observed that the Book of Tobit has an Iranian background. This was discussed by J. H. Moulton in ET, March, 1900. An excursus on Magianism and the Book of Tobit is attached to Lecture II in Moulton's Hibbert Lectures delivered in 1912. Tobit's daughter-in-law lived in Echatana, the present Hamadân, near the foot of Mt. Elvend, 188 miles southwest of the capital of modern Persia, Teherân. Even now one tenth of the inhabitants of Hamadân are Jews. The town contains the alleged sarcophagi of Esther and Mordecai, also the tomb of the great Arabian physician and philosopher Avicenna who died in 1037 A.D. Tobit had deposited money in Rages, the Avestan Rhaga, which is mentioned in the Behistûn inscription of Darius Hystaspis (2, 13): the Median Phraortes, who had rebelled against Darius in 522, fled to Ragâ, but was captured and impaled in Echatana (Weissbach, "Achämeniden," pp. 39, 153). The name survives in the huge ruins of Rai, situated some 5 miles southeast of Teheran (DB 4, 193; EB 4005). It was one of the strongest fortresses of the Persian empire. The ruins occupy a space about 4,500 yards long by 3,500 broad. A historical sketch of Ragha, the supposed home of Zoroaster's mother, has been given by Professor Jackson, of Columbia University, in the Spiegel Memorial Volume, published at Bombay in 1908.

Asmodeus, the name of the demon who killed the seven bridegrooms of Sara until Tobit's son, Tobias, expelled him, is the Persian Aeshma-dêwa. This was pointed out long ago by Benfey in

Also the part played by Tobias's dog is distinctly Aryan. In the Old Testament, the dog is regarded as an unclean animal. In the

woods and water (BK 9, 864^a).

Talmud we read that no one should keep a dog unless it be chained, and Rabbi Eliezer said: Ham-měgaddél kělabîm kam-měgaddél hăzîrîm, a man who raises dogs is like a man who raises hogs (BT 6, 299, 19). In the Book of Tobit, Tobias's dog accompanies his young master on his journey and follows him when he returns to his parents in Nineveh after having cured his bride. In the Aramaic and Hebrew versions of the Book of Tobit the dog is omitted. According to some Catholic exegetes, Tobias's dog represents the Keeper of Israel; Raphael: the Messiah; and Sara: the Church of the New Testament!

Tobias also cured his father Tobit who had lost his sight when he was 58 years old. He recovered it after he had been blind for eight years. The cure of his blindness is said to have been effected by the gall of a fish which Tobias had caught in the Tigris. The liver and the heart of that fish, burned on embers of incense, expelled Asmodeus, who had tormented Sara for years.

The blindness of Tobit seems to be a subsequent exaggeration, also the number of the husbands of Sara who were killed by Asmodeus before they could enjoy their connubial bliss. In the Talmud we are told that no woman might marry again whom death had bereft of three husbands in succession (Yebamoth 64b; Niddah 64^a). In some parallels to the story of Tobias and Sara the number of the former husbands killed in the wedding-night is not seven, as in the Book of Tobit, but five or three. In an Armenian legend a well-to-do man, riding through a forest, finds some men treating a dead body rather unceremoniously. They tell him that the dead man owed them money. He pays the debts and buries the body. Afterwards he is impoverished. In his native town there is a rich man with an only daughter. She had been married five times, but her husbands had always died the first night after the marriage. An unknown servant advises him to marry the widow. In the wedding-night a snake comes out of the mouth of the bride and threatens to kill him. The unknown servant, who has been on guard, kills the snake and saves the groom. The unknown servant turns out to be the dead man whom he had buried in the forest.

In a Russian story a man buries his brother. He is married to

the daughter of a merchant, whose two former husbands had perished in the bridal night. The dead brother is on guard in the bridal chamber and slays the dragon which threatens to kill the groom (GJV⁴ 3, 241). Seventeen variants of the fable of the Grateful Dead were given by Simrock in "Der gute Gerhard und die dankbaren Toten" (Bonn, 1856). Dr. Ember called my attention to some similar stories in the Talmud and the Midrash Tanhûmâ.

At the end of the tract Shabbath (156b; BT 1, 716, 1. 24) we read: Rabbi Aqiba had a daughter. Astrologers had told him that when she would enter the bridal chamber, a snake would bite her, and she would die. He was much disturbed by this prediction. On that day she took the (nuptial) crown and stuck it into the wall, and it chanced to strike the eyes of a snake. When she pulled out the crown in the morning, the snake was affixed to it. Her father asked her, What did you do? She told him, In the evening a poor man called at the door. All the people were busy with their meal, so that no one heard him. But I got up and gave him my portion you had given me. He said to her, Thou hast done a good deed. Then Agiba went out and preached: Righteousness delivers from death, not only from a natural death, but also from an unnatural death. Righteousness delivers from death is a quotation from Prov. 10, 2. In this story the bride, not the bridegroom, is threatened with death in the wedding-night.

The name Akiba is familiar to us, because a rabbi Ben Akiba figures in Gutzkow's tragedy "Uriel Acosta." Acosta committed suicide in 1647. Spinoza was about fifteen at that time. But the Talmudic Rabbi Aqiba was tortured and killed by the Romans in 135 A.D. after Hadrian's suppression of the Jewish rebellion under the leadership of Barcochebas who was recognized by Rabbi Aqiba as Messiah. Over half a million Jews were slaughtered at that time. Hadrian had forbidden circumcision as illegal mutilation. He destroyed Jerusalem and founded a Roman colony, Ælia Capitolina, on the site of the holy city. He also replaced the Temple of Jhyh by a temple of Jupiter (EB¹¹ 15, 402^b). Lazarus Goldschmidt translates hairpin instead of crown, and knocked at the door instead of called at the door; but makbántâ, which Dalman renders necklace,

is connected with Syr. kěbîntâ, hood, perhaps also with Arab. míjnab, veil (see the cuts in RB 1427/8; DB 1, 628; CD 6711^a; cf. CD 1273^b, below; Cant. 31, n. 19; BL 44; also JAOS 41, 34, n. 23 and n. 35). Qarâ abbâbâ does not mean he knocked at the door, but he called; a caller denoted his presence at the door by a call.

Tanhûmâ bar-Abbâ lived about the middle of the fourth century, but the parallel to Tobit is not found in the oldest form of the Midrash Tanhûmâ, which was edited by Solomon Buber in 1885; it is printed at the end of the second volume of the Warsaw edition (p. 124). It is also given, in a slightly abridged and modified form, in N. Lewin's Talmudic chrestomathy "Mewo Hatalmud," Wilna, 1907, pp. 14-16. It is there entitled sasôn tahath ébel, Joy instead of Grief (Tob. 7, 16). This story (which is ascribed to Moses had-Darshan, of Narbonne, the teacher of the compiler of the great Talmudic dictionary, known as 'Arûkh, R. Nathan, who died at Rome in 1106) was given in Hebrew (according to the Mantua edition of 1563) and in English in Adolf Neubauer, "The Book of Tobit" (Oxford, 1878). Neubauer's book was inaccessible to me when I prepared my translation which is based on the text in "Mewo Hatalmud"; but I have not deemed it necessary to make any changes; the omissions and additions in "Mewo Hatalmud" are immaterial. The Aramaic version published by Neubauer is not the original Aramaic text of the book, but a later version made from the Greek. It can hardly be older than the seventh century A.D. larly the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus, which was discovered about 25 years ago, is not the original text, but a retranslation from the Greek or the Syriac versions (JAOS 40, 219, below).

The haggadic story at the end of the "Midrash Tanhûmâ" may be translated as follows:

There was a rich wise man with an only daughter who was very beautiful and pious. She had been married thrice, but on the morrow of the wedding her husbands were always found dead. Therefore she made up her mind to remain a widow.

Her father had a brother in another city, who was very poor, but he had ten sons. Every day he and his eldest son brought bundles of wood from the forest and sold them. In this way he supported himself and his family. One day they had not sold anything, so they had no money to buy bread, and they had nothing to eat that day. When they went to the forest the next morning, the father felt faint. The son shed tears over their misery and lifted his eyes to heaven. On that day he took leave of his parents and went to the city of his uncle.

When he came to his uncle's house, his uncle was very glad to see him, as were also his wife and his daughter. They asked him about his parents and his brothers. After a week the young man said to his uncle, I have one request, do not refuse it. His uncle said, What do you want? The young man said, Swear that thou wilt do what I ask of thee. His uncle did so. Then the young man said, This is what I ask of thee: give me thy daughter to wife.

When the man heard this, he wept and said, No, my son, no; so and so is her way on account of my sins. . . . If thou art anxious to have her for the sake of my wealth, thou must not marry her; I will give thee silver and gold in abundance. The young man said, Thou hast sworn to fulfil my request. When the rich man saw that he insisted on it, he consented. He went and told his daughter about it. When she heard this, she wept and cried bitterly. She lifted her eyes to heaven, saying, Lord of the Worlds, may Thy hand be upon me, but let not him die on my account.

On the following day the rich man gave a feast to which he invited the elders of the city. He prepared a bridal chamber, and the young man remained in it. At that time there came to him an old man—it was Elijah of blessed memory—who called him aside and said to him, My son, let me give you some good advice; do not disregard it. When thou sittest down to eat, a poor man will come to thee, clad in black and tattered garments; there is none like him in the whole world. When thou seest him, rise from thy seat and make him sit beside thee. Give him to eat and drink, pay him all possible attention, and honor him. Look out lest thou disregard anything I have told thee, then no harm will come to thee. But I must go away.

When the old man had left, the bridegroom went to his place and sat down at the feast. After they had begun to eat, that poor man

came. As soon as the bridegroom saw him, he got up from his place and did for him all the old man had told him. After the wedding-feast the poor man called the bridegroom, took him to a chamber, and said to him, My son, I am a messenger of God; I have come here to take thy life. The bridegroom said, My lord, give me time, a year or half a year. The old man said, I can not do that. Then the bridegroom said, Give me a month or the week of the wedding. The old man said, I can not give you even one day. The bridegroom said, I pray thee, wait for me until I take leave of my wife. The old man said, This I will grant; go, but come back soon.

So he went and found her in her room alone. She was weeping and praying to the Lord. When the bridegroom called her, she said to him, My brother, why dost thou come here? He said, To take leave of thee, for my time has come to go the way of all the earth; the angel has come to take my life. She said, Thou must not go; I shall go and talk to him. So she went, and when she found him, she said to him, Art thou the angel who hast come to take my husband's life? He said to her, Yes. She said to him, He must not die now! It is written in the Law, When a man takes a wife, he shall not go out in the host, neither shall he be charged with any business; he shall be free at home one year, and shall cheer up his wife which he has taken.—

This is stated in Deut. 24, 5. No military service or other public duty was to be imposed upon a man during the first year after his marriage; he was to be exempted from other duties, and free to attend to the interests of his new home. In 1 Mac. 3, 56 we read that before the battle of Emmaus in 166 B.C. Judas Maccabæus commanded that such as were building houses, or had betrothed wives, or were planting vineyards, or were fearful, should return, every man to his own house, according to the Law; cf. Deut. 20, 5–8; Jud. 7, 3.—

The bride said to the Angel of Death, The Holy One, blessed be He, is true, and His Law is true. If thou take his life, thou givest the lie to the Law. If thou accept my words, it is good; but if not, come with me to the great tribunal, that we may be judged. Forthwith the Holy One, blessed be He, rebuked the angel, and he went away.

The parents of the bride were in their room weeping. When midnight approached, the man and his wife arose to prepare a grave for their son-in-law before daybreak. . . . At daybreak they heard the bridegroom and the bride laughing and rejoicing; so they went to the chamber to-see how things were. When they saw them, they, too, were overjoyed, and they told this thing to the congregation and praised God.—

Also Tobias's father-in-law had dug a grave for the bridegroom in the night after the wedding, but when he found in the morning that his son-in-law was alive, he bade his servants fill the grave. Instead of the prophet Elijah in the Midrash Tanhûmâ or the grateful dead in the Armenian legend we find in the Book of Tobit the angel Raphael. In Tob. 3, 17 we are told that Raphael was sent to heal both Tobit and his daughter-in-law, Sara, that is, to scale away the whiteness of Tobit's eyes, and to give Sara, the daughter of Raguel, for a wife to Tobias, the son of Tobit, and to bind Asmodeus, the evil spirit. Raphael means God healed. He is one of the seven angels who stand and serve before the throne of God's glory, presenting the prayers of saints. Raphael acted as Tobias's guide on his journey from Nineveh to Ecbatana. He claimed to be Azariah, a kinsman of Tobit, and accepted a remuneration of one drachma per day for his services. He brought Tobit's money from Rages, while Tobias and Sara celebrated their wedding in Ecbatana for two weeks. He had advised Tobias to put on the embers of incense in the bridal chamber the heart and the liver of the fish he had caught when it leaped out of the Tigris and would have swallowed him up, while he was bathing in the river. The fumes drove Asmodeus away, so that their connubial bliss was not disturbed.

Sara's demoniacal possession may have been a case of hysteroepilepsy. In the New Testament, hysterics and epileptics are regarded as demoniacs. In Mark 9, 18 we have the description of an epileptic cured by Jesus. The boy is said to be torn by a spirit. He foams and gnashes with his teeth. When he saw Jesus, straightway the spirit tore him, and he fell on the ground, and wallowed foaming. The father told Jesus that the boy had had these fits from an infant. Ofttimes the spirit had cast him into the fire and into the waters, to destroy him. Jesus rebuked the foul spirit, saying, I charge thee, come out of him, and enter no more into him. When the spirit came out of him, the boy was as one dead; insomuch that many said, He is dead.

Epilepsy was called morbus dæmoniacus. The Sumerian name for disease is entrance, ingress, invasion. Diseases were regarded as due to the invasion of the body by evil spirits (JSOR 1, 7). In Sumerian incantations (ASKT 98, xxvii) we read, May the goddess of the netherworld, the consort of Ninazu, set her face toward another place. May the evil Utuk go out and stand aside. May the propitious genius, the propitious guardian angel establish themselves in his body.—Even modern physicians believe in demoniacal posses-Sir Risdon Bennett, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., ex-President of the Royal College of Physicians, says in his book, "The Diseases of the Bible" (London, 1896), p. 82: Whether there be in the present day such a thing as demoniacal possession, in the sense in which it was understood in the time of our Lord, we are not called upon to enquire; although it may be admitted that there is not a little in the manifestations of many cases of lunacy that may well give rise to the question whether Satanic agency has not some part therein. Religious men of the most irreproachable character, and women of unsullied purity of thought and habit, will use language, entertain ideas, and manifest conduct altogether opposed to their character in a sane state, and which become the source of the utmost pain and distress of mind when restored to reason.—If they do these things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry?

We believe now that the pathogenic agents are certain bacteria or protozoa which have gained entrance to the human body. A contagious disease is an invasion of vegetable and animal parasites. Some medical men call these micro-organisms in true Babylonian style messengers of destruction and death, adding that the battle too often ends in favor of the attacking enemy. Just as the Babylonian priests tried to drive out the demons of disease, so our medical men speak now of driving the comma bacillus out of rooms by means of light and fresh air (JSOR 1, 8).

In the New Testament, epileptics are regarded as demoniacs. In

Matt. 17, 15 RV has substituted epileptic for the term lunatic of AV. The Greek text has $\sigma \epsilon \lambda \eta \nu d\zeta \epsilon \tau \omega$. The term lunatic is, of course, inappropriate. A lunatic is not moonstruck, his mind is not affected by the light of the moon, nor is intermittent insanity subject to the changes of the moon. In German, mondsüchtig denotes a sleep-walker or somnambulist.

If Sara always had in the wedding-night an epileptic seizure followed by a fit of hysterics, such an attack would not have killed her husbands, but it might have killed their love for her, and they might have disappeared as speedily as possible. Sara may have married at the age of fifteen,³ and if she had a new husband every year for seven years, she would have been 22 when she decided not to marry again, and she may have been 25 when Tobias came. Hysteria is especially frequent in girls between the ages of 15 and 25.

An epileptic fit is characterized by a sudden loss of consciousness attended with convulsions. The seizure is usually preceded by a loud scream. The eyes roll wildly, the teeth are gnashed together; foam, often tinged with blood, issues from the mouth, while the contents of the bowels and the bladder may be ejected. The attack is followed by drowsiness and stupor, which may continue for several hours, or a hysterical attack may occur as an immediate sequel to an epileptic fit. The eyes may then be tightly closed, with the body and limbs rigid, and this stage may be followed by violent struggling movements.

The chief remedies for hysterics are asafetida and valerian.

³ See JHUC, No. 316, p. 24; BL 111. The Belgian wife of a Canadian soldier, Harry W. Martindale, was ten years old when she married him, in 1917, on a Belgian battlefield; their first child was born when she was twelve and a half (Baltimore News, April 29, 1921, p. 34, col. 3). Napoleon's mother was fourteen when she married in 1764; her first son was born in 1765. Van Dyck's daughter Justiniana, who was born eight days before his death on December 9, 1641, was married when scarcely twelve years old. Lucrezia Borgia was married in 1493 when she was thirteen. Mme. Recamier (1777–1849) was married at fifteen. The Marquis de Rambouillet was married at twelve years old. La Rochefoucauld was married before he was fifteen; he joined the army before he was sixteen. Henry VIII's elder brother was married to Catherine of Aragon, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, when he was a youth of scarcely fifteen. Alexander I of Russia (1777–1825) was married to Maria Louisa of Baden in 1793, before he was sixteen (EB¹¹ 4, 192^a; 27, 891^b; 4, 249^b; 22, 951^a. 873^b; 16, 220^a; 23, 16^a; 1, 559^b; 17, 755, n. 3).

Asafetida is found especially between the Aral Sea and the Persian Gulf. The Romans called asafetida laser Syriacum or Persicum. The Greek name was $\delta\pi\delta\varsigma$ My $\delta\iota$ x $\delta\varsigma$. Laser Cyrenaicum was a gumresin obtained from the north of Africa, and greatly appreciated by the ancients as an antispasmodic, deobstruent, and diuretic. It is supposed to have been produced by Thapsia Garganica, the deadly carrot. The amber-yellow resin prepared in Algeria from Thapsia Garganica is called bon-nafa resin. Laserpitium latifolium, the herb-frankincense or laserwort, is a native of mountainous districts in Europe. The root abounds with a gum-resin, which is acrid and bitter, and is said to be a violent purgative. Laser Cyrenaicum was fragrant; it is therefore known as asa dulcis. The same name is given to benzoin or gum benjamin, i.e., the concrete resinous juice of the benjamin-tree of Sumatra, Java, and the Malay peninsula. It is used in incense in Roman Catholic and Greek churches. forms the medicinal ingredient of court-plaster, so called because originally applied by ladies of the court as ornamental patches on the face. The tree is known as Styrax Benzoin. Benzoin or benjamin is a corruption of Arab. luban Jawah, incense of Java.4 The first syllable, lu, was mistaken for the article. The earlier form of benzoin is benjoin, which is preserved in French. The botanical name of asafetida is Ferula fatida. Asa is the Persian $\hat{a}z\hat{a}$, mastic. The gum-resin obtained from a species of ferula (Ferula galbaniflua) of the desert region of Persia was used in the preparation of the ancient Hebrew incense. It has a peculiar aromatic odor and a disagreeable alliaceous taste. It is called galbanum. The Arabic name is qinnah, and the Persian: birzed. The hollow reed in which Prometheus brought fire from earth to heaven was a branch of ferula. The pith of the stem of giant fennel (Ferula communis) is still used in the Mediterranean region as tinder (cf. Pliny 13, 122; 7, 198).

The ancient Hebrew incense was compounded of frankincense with equal parts of galbanum, stacte, and onycha, and a pinch of salt. Stacte is the fresh gum of the myrrh-tree, and onycha the claw-shaped operculum of a species of wing-shell or fountain-shell, found in the Red Sea. The operculum is the horny, or shelly, plate

⁴ Cf. vol. 4, p. 240 of the Paris edition of Ibn Batûtah.

serving to close the aperture of the shell when the animal is retracted. The operculum of some species of strombus emits a musky odor. In old works on materia medica it is said to have been known by the name of *unguis odoratus*, blatta Byzantina, and devil's claw. Arab women in Nubia and Upper Egypt scent themselves by making a fire of charcoal in a small but deep hole in the floor of the hut or tent. They throw on the charcoal ginger, cloves, myrrh, frankincense, cinnamon, sandal wood, onycha, and a kind of seaweed, and crouch over the hole enveloped in their mantles which fall from their necks like tents (EB 3512; cf. EB¹¹ 27, 984^b, below).

The old pharmaceutical name of asafetida is devil's dung; so you can imagine the sweet smell of this remedy. The specific remedy for epilepsy is bromide of potassium, and bromine is derived from $\beta\rho\tilde{\omega}\mu\sigma\varsigma$, stench. In Germany an offensive animal oil, mixed with petroleum and dyed with alcanna, was extensively advertised as a patent medicine for epilepsy (BK 7, 567a, l. 18). Pliny (32, 226) says that an epileptic seizure may be checked by the fumes of burning horns of goats or deer (morbum ipsum deprehendit caprini cornus vel cervina usti nidor). The verb deprehendere in this connection does not mean to detect, but to arrest, check. Horn, especially hartshorn, was formerly much used as a source of ammonia, and ammonia has a pungent and suffocating smell. Pliny calls epilepsy morbus comitialis: when a member of the forum was seized with an epileptic fit, the assembly was broken up.

Hysterical patients often enjoy the most disagreeable odors. They may object to a sweet-smelling flower, but like, e.g., the odor of burned feathers. The oil of valerian smells like stale cheese. It is found not only in the root of valerian, but also in the secretion of sweating feet and in the liver of the dolphin. Delphinic, which is identical with isovaleric acid, also known as isopropylacetic acid, was discovered a hundred years ago by the great French chemist Michel Eugène Chevreul in his classical researches on animal fats. He was nearly 103 years old when he died in 1889. The fish caught by Tobias may have been a dolphin. Several species of dolphins are found in large rivers, e.g., in the Amazon and the Ganges. Some are entirely fluviatile and never pass out to sea. Pliny (8, 91) says

that dolphins enter the Nile (delphini immeantes Nilo) and attack the crocodiles. He also states (32, 83) that some try out the livers of dolphins and use the oil for cutaneous affections (quidam delphini jecur in fictili torrent donec pinguitudo similis oleo fluat ac perungunt). The common name for dolphin is porpoise, which is a contraction of porcus and piscis, corresponding to the Ger. Schweinefisch. Porpoise-oil is used as a lubricant for watches. It is also called clock-oil. According to Pliny (32, 83), the ashes of dolphins were used for eruptions and leprosy. The common dolphin usually measures six to eight feet. It was formerly supposed to be a fish and therefore allowed to be eaten by Catholics when the use of flesh was prohibited.

If Tobias burnt on roots of asafetida, which is used as a condiment in the East, the liver and heart of a dolphin, which he had kept for several days, the smell may well have expelled the demon. At any rate, this remedy may have had a powerful effect on Sara. Karl Binz, who retired from the chair of pharmacology in the University of Bonn in 1908, has shown that the volatile oils of valerian act as sedatives of the motor cells in the anterior horns of grey matter of the spinal column. Recent experiments in the Pharmacological Laboratory of the Johns Hopkins University have shown that the Hebrew incense was distinctly disinfective, but not sedative (JAOS 41, 178).5 The fishy fume, which drove Asmodeus away, is alluded to in Milton's "Paradise Lost" (4, 168): when Satan approached Eden, gentle gales dispensed native perfumes, and those odorous sweets entertained the Fiend | Who came their bane, though with them better pleased | Than Asmodeus with the fishy fume | Of Tobit's son, and with a vengeance sent | From Media post to Egypt, there fast bound.

Tobias's fumigation was not undertaken for the purpose of dis-

⁵ See David I. Macht and William M. Kunkel, "Concerning the antiseptic action of some aromatic fumes," in the *Proceedings of the Society of Experimental Biology and Medicine*, vol. 18, pp. 68–70 (1920). The burning of various forms of incense exerted a distinct antiseptic action, but the inhalation of incense in ordinary dilution produced no depression. On the other hand, valerian and asafetida odors had a distinctly sedative effect. The article by Dr. Macht and Dr. Ting on the effect of aromatic drugs on the behavior of rats will appear in vol. 18 of the *Journal of Pharmacology*.

infection, although the ancients were familiar with the sanitary efficacy of fumigation. After the slaughter of the suitors Ulysses fumigated the dining-hall with fire and sulphur (Od. 22, 481/2; EB¹¹ 14, 353^b). At marriages the Mohammedans of India burn benzoin with nîm-seeds to keep off the evil spirits. The nîm-tree is called also bead-tree, because its nuts are used for the beads of rosaries, especially in Spain and Portugal (EB¹¹ 14, 350^b).

It may seem strange that asafetida should have been used for incense, but this gum-resin is relished as a condiment in Persia and India, and is in demand in France for culinary purposes. In northern Abyssinia it is chewed like a guid of tobacco in this country or betel-nuts in the East (BL 78). In the sixteenth century, valerian, which is now regarded as intolerable, was considered to be fragrant; the dried root was placed among clothes as a perfume. The fresh root has no distinctive smell, but on drying it, it acquires a powerful odor of valerianic acid. By the poorer classes in the north of England it was esteemed of such medicinal value that no broth, pottage (cf. Lat. lasaratum) or physical meat was considered of any value without it (EB11 27, 858b). It was called setwall, a corruption of zedoary. French zédoaire, which is the Persian zedwar, zidwar. We object to the flavor of garlic, but in southern Europe it is a common ingredient in dishes and is largely consumed by the agricultural population. It was eaten also by the ancient Greek and Roman soldiers, sailors, and rural classes. The nard-plant, Nardostachys jatamansi, from the bases of which the famous perfumed unguent of the ancients, known as spikenard, was derived, is closely allied to valerian (BL 69, 14). Mountain nard, collected in Cilicia and Syria, is supposed to have consisted of the root of Valeriana tuberosa. The odor of Nardostachys jatamansi is intermediate between valerian and patchouli, although more agreeable than either (EB11 25, 668a). Patchouli, which gives their peculiar odor to India ink and Indian shawls, is liked by some persons, while others detest it. In Cant. 2, 12 spikenard denotes the membrum virile (AJP 42, 165).

The gall of the fish caught by Tobias is said to have cured also his father's blindness or, rather, the white spots in his eyes, caused

The by droppings of a bird, when he was asleep out of doors. Greek text has leucomata, i.e., opacities of the cornea. Recent corneal opacities may clear spontaneously, especially in children, but all applications to dispel the opacity of old scars are useless. is said to have been 58 when the trouble began, and it had lasted for eight years before his son applied the preserved gall of the fish he had caught in the Tigris. Modern oculists tattoo the white spots with India ink, so that they are no longer seen against the black pupil of the colored iris. The gall applied by Tobias must have been evaporated and dried. Ox-gall, i.e., the bitter fluid secreted by the liver of the ox, is used in water-color painting to make the colors spread more evenly; mixed with gum arabic, it thickens and fixes the colors. Black-lead or crayon drawings are set with a coating of ox-gall. If you add ox-gall to lamp-black in water you obtain a serviceable sepia. Tobias may have mixed with the gall the charcoal obtained by calcining the heart and liver of the fish (EB 455). The Egyptian ladies paint their eyelids with the soot of charred frankincense (EB11 14, 350a).

Ebstein's remark in his book on Medicine in the Old Testament (Stuttgart, 1901) p. 164, that this use of gall, liver, and heart may be regarded as the first case of Brown-Sequard's organotherapy, is These organs were not administered internally by gratuitous. Ebstein, who was Professor of Medicine in Göttingen, published also books on Medicine in the New Testament (1903) and the plague described by Thucydides (1899). He died in 1912. Brown-Sequard, who was for three years professor of physiology and neuropathology at Harvard, was the successor of Claude Bernard in the chair of experimental medicine at the Collège de France. In 1889 he advocated the hypodermic injection of a fluid, prepared from the testicles of sheep, as a means of prolonging human life. He was nearly 77 when he died in 1894. Organotherapy is much older than Brown-Sequard. For many years pepsin has been used for dyspepsia, and from time immemorial savages have been accustomed to eat the hearts of lions and other wild animals, under the belief that they will thereby obtain courage and strength like that of the animal from which the heart had been taken (EB11 26, 798b).

Some think that the fish caught by Tobias was a callionymus or dragonet, because Pliny (32, 69) says that the gall of the callionymus heals scars and consumes superfluous flesh about the eyes (callionymi fel cicatrices sanat et carnes oculorum supervacuas consumit). He means, it may be supposed, a pterygium, πτεμύγιον, i.e., a more or less triangular patch of hypertrophied conjunctiva and subconjunctival tissue with its apex at the edge of the cornea or upon the cornea. The gemmous dragonet or yellow gurnard (see cut CD 768b) is a small fish which could not have swallowed Tobias. It is called gemmous because it is covered with spots like gems. Perhaps in allusion to its sparkling appearance it is called bridegroom in Banfshire in northeast Scotland, northwest of Aberdeen. means grunter. The German name is Knurrhahn, i.e., grunting cock. The gurnard, when taken out of the water, makes a grunting sound. Callionymus, having a beautiful name, seems to be a euphemistic designation for dragon, just as the left side was called εὐώνυμος, well-named, and the Erinyes, the Greek Furies, Eumenides, the gracious ones (JAOS 28, 116; BA 3, 557, 1. 31; ZDMG 65, 52).

Arabic authors say that the gall of the catfish was used in the preparation of an eye-salve, and that it was employed also for the expulsion of demons. The silurus is called cat-fish because, when taken out of the water, it emits a sound like the purring of a cat. The catfish in the Danube grows to ten feet with a weight of 400 lbs., so Tobias might have been under the impression that the fish would swallow him up. Pliny (9, 45) says that the silurus pulls down horses (equos innatantes demergit). The stories about children having been found in the stomachs of very large individuals are probably inventions. But Tobias would not have eaten catfish, because it has no scales. The Mosaic law forbade the Jews to eat scaleless fishes (Lev. 11, 12).6

⁶ It is said that in the rivers of New Zealand eels attain an immense size and have been known to attack bathers, dragging them beneath the surface of the water. Some years ago a giant conger, caught in the shallow water off the shores of England, measured 8 feet 8 inches in length and weighed 148 lbs. (Baltimore American, June 28, 1921, p. 4, col. 8). EB11 9, 9^a states that the largest conger recorded was 8 feet 3 inches long, and weighed 128 lbs.

Some commentators believe that the fish was a pike (RB 457^b, l. 3) or a shark, or a whale, or a crocodile, or a hippopotamus. Large specimens of pike may attain a length of nearly 7 feet and a weight of nearly 80 lbs. They are said to attack foxes and small dogs, and snap at the hands and feet of human beings. Some species of sharks enter the mouths of large rivers. The carcharias Gangeticus occurs frequently high up in the large rivers of India; but there are no whales, hippopotami, or crocodiles in the Tigris. According to the Arabian cosmographer Kazwînî, who died in 1283, the smell of smoke of a crocodile's liver cures epilepsy, and its dung and gall cure leucoma. Some exegetes think that the fish symbolizes the pagan empire endeavoring to seize what portions it could of the pious Dispersion (Simpson, p. 186).

The Book of Tobit is, of course, not historical. Luther said, If it be fiction, it is a truly beautiful, wholesome, and profitable fiction, the work of a gifted poet. It is a religious novel written by a Persian Jew about 167 B.C. The accounts of the cures of Tobias's blindness and Sara's hysteria are not as accurate as our modern medical reports, but if a contemporary novelist introduced some allusions to the new rejuvenating operation suggested by Dr. Steinach, of Vienna, or the transplantation of the thyroid gland of a monkey for the cure of idiocy, recently performed in Chicago, there would probably be some inaccuracies. We still speak of biliousness, colds in the head or on the lungs; we call conjunctivitis, which is caused by the Morax-Axenfeld bacillus or by the Koch-Weeks microbe, a cold in the eye, and we often read in the daily papers that some man died of acute indigestion.

The author of the Book of Tobit may have heard of a wise man who had cured an attack of hystero-epilepsy by the fumes of the liver of a dolphin, placed on the embers of incense containing asafetida. He may also have known of some cases in which white spots in the eyes had disappeared after the application of charred incense mixed with the gall of a fish or small cetacean.⁸ The man

⁷ Ligation of deferent canal; *cf.* Knud Sand, Moderne experimentelle Sexualforschung, besonders die letzten Arbeiten Steinachs ("Verjüngung"), p. 20 (Bonn, 1920).

⁸ The Baltimore Sun, July 9, 1921 (p. 1, cols. 4, 5) stated that Charles

who performed these wonderful cures would have been regarded as an angel. When St. Paul at Lystra (some eighteen miles south-southwest of Konia, the ancient Iconium which was the easternmost city of Phrygia) cured a man who had never walked, having been a cripple from his mother's womb, the people said, The gods have come down to us in the likeness of men, and they called Paul: Mercurius, and his companion, Barnabas, Jupiter (Acts 14, 8–12). In cases of hysterical paralysis wonderful cures may be effected even by quacks and charlatans. In hysteria we generally find an increased susceptibility to external suggestion, and the paroxysmal symptoms may be dispelled by suggestion. Hysteria, or neuromimesis, is essentially a lack of inhibitory power, and something particularly nasty or dreaded may induce sufficient inhibitory power. A hysterical fit may be prevented or checked if the patient is threatened with something particularly disagreeable.

One of my medical friends told me that, when he was resident physician at a sanatorium for nervous diseases, he would often tell a nurse who came to him in despair, because one of the female patients had a hysterical fit, Call in another nurse, and tell her to prepare an ice-cold bath; say, If the fit lasts much longer, we must put her in an ice-cold bath and keep her there. This generally resulted in the speedy disappearance of all symptoms. While a patient is unconscious in an epileptic fit, there is no loss of consciousness in a hysterical seizure. Psychotherapeutic measures are more valuable than drugs. Some thirty years ago there was in a wellknown European sanatorium a married woman who was so hysterical that the physician-in-chief finally whipped her. There may have been some sadistic inclination on the part of the doctor, and masochism on the part of the patient. But she was cured. The doctor was sentenced to several months in jail, but there were a number of petitions with a great many signatures, urging the authorities to pardon the energetic healer, or at least permit him to pay a fine instead of sending him to jail. He paid the fine, and could well afford to do so, because so many husbands sent their hysterical

Dice, a former cowboy and house painter, now known as the Miracle Man of York (Pa.), was treating blindness with the "tears" of a "sea-monster."

wives to his hospital that he had to build two additions. He did not put the liver and the heart of a fish on embers of incense: instead of valerian, which O. W. Holmes called calmer of hysteric squirms, he used ungebrannte Asche, and Asmodeus was with a vengeance sent post to Egypt, there fast bound.

⁹ This has about the same meaning as our phrase a rod in a pickle, French une raclée, une volée de coups de bâton. Cf. Grimm's "Wörterbuch," vol. I, p. 581 (ein Prügel wird volkmässig umschrieben durch ungebrannte Asche) and Sanders, p. 50^b.